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The purposes of the Conference on Adult Basic Education were to determine the most pressing problems facing American Spanish-speaking adults, and to establish collaborative and coordinated efforts to attack these problems. Problems discussed included acculturation processes, unemployment, political implications for Mexican Americans, establishment of equal educational opportunities for Mexican Americans, and availability of diverse media for the teaching of English as a second language. Extensive information exchange among the participants led to the recommendation that an adult basic education clearinghouse be established at the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory to further and continue this exchange. (DK)

The Chicano is coming out of Tortilla Flats . . . One Way or the Other!

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Proceedings
of the
Conference on Adult Basic Education
Sponsored by
The Southwestern Cooperative
Educational Laboratory, Inc.
Albuquerque
July 29-30, 1968

RE002963

Foreword

Using the results of a careful study conducted by Armando Rodriquez, participants at the conference established as their chief objectives:

> The identification of the most pressing problems faced by the Spanish-speaking adult, and
> The determination of specific collaborative efforts that would exploit scarce resources to attack the problems.

Armando also provided the title for this publication in his talk on "Equal Educational Opportunities for Mexican-Americans," when he suggested that education, hopefully, would aid the "Chicano in coming out of Tortilla Flats."

All too often conferences of this type have resulted in individuals talking far too much to each other without arriving at specific priorities. Not so at this work session!

Thirty representatives of such diverse organizations as Community Action Programs, Title III (ESEA) Centers, Washington and Regional Offices of Education, colleges and universities, public school systems and state departments of education met and established a systems approach which ultimately coupled 14 different educational agencies in a common movement.

What originally began as a single project having $425,000 as its financial base grew into a project which now has more than $1 million as the various agencies discovered ways they could work with each other to reduce duplication, capitalize on already discovered territory and "stop reinventing the wheel."

Some conferences end after participants have taken copious notes, have nodded their heads "yes" and then returned home to perpetuate essentially the same activities that have occurred for 100 years. Not so this conference! An on-going steering committee was established to continuously assess and modify when and if necessary the thrust of the total program. The beat goes on!

Hopefully the approach taken will result in a prototype that can be replicated by others — certainly the uniqueness of the effort is worth a fair trial.

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Statement of Purpose

Dr. James L. Olivero, Director,
Southwestern Cooperative
Educational Laboratory, Inc.

We want this workshop to be a workshop, and not merely a yak-yak session where lots of people are talking to you. Perhaps I can establish a frame of reference by helping you take a look at some of the things you are concerned about, some of the things we are concerned about and some of the things this conference might be concerned with.

As a take-off point, the position paper which Armando Rodriguez has put together suggests some important areas for concern particularly for Spanish-surnamed people. Those four areas of concern he has identified relate to: (1) early childhood education, (2) teacher education, (3) bilingual education and (4) technical and vocational education. Unfortunately, as we look around the country, we find there is a great deal of reinventing the wheel going on. There is a great deal of the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing. We hope, on the basis of the conference here today, that we can eliminate those two problems and perhaps exploit the progress other people have made and avoid some pitfalls. It is quite clear that when we talk about adult education it is absolutely essential that we also talk about some of these other areas.

For example, we are concerned as a laboratory with early childhood education. As a matter of fact, beginning with the program sponsored by the laboratory, we developed 147 lessons that include cultural awareness on the part of teachers, entry level skills and a lot of classroom management techniques as a part of our pre-school and elementary school programs.

As a matter of fact, we have just finished a two-week institute in which we worked with 20 teachers from five school districts in four states — including both teachers of Negro students, teachers working with Pueblo and Navajo youngsters and Spanish-surnamed youngsters. These teachers, in turn, will teach five other teachers from their own districts so that by September of this year we will be in 124 classrooms working with 3,000 youngsters using the materials we have developed. That's what SWCEL is doing on one of the priorities that Armando was talking about — early childhood education.

We also have a major project underway at the present time in adult basic education. We are working with the state department of public instruction in Arizona, the University of Arizona, the University of Colorado and many, many other agencies. So we do have a great deal of information to help us establish some basic priorities in adult basic education. One of the major purposes of this workshop is to establish some priorities because we have some limited funds available if we begin to draft projects right away based upon priorities that you determine are essential in ABE.

However, the reason I am using some of these other parameters is because it is quite clear that unless we establish a systems approach we are going to be involved in the same spinning of wheels that we too long have had.

Now there are a lot of possibilities that might come out of this conference. Some of those possibilities, for example, could include these 15 video tapes produced by the University of Arizona which teach English to non-English speaking people with Spanish surnames, prescriptive materials, teacher aide material and establishment of a clearinghouse so each of us will know what the other is doing.

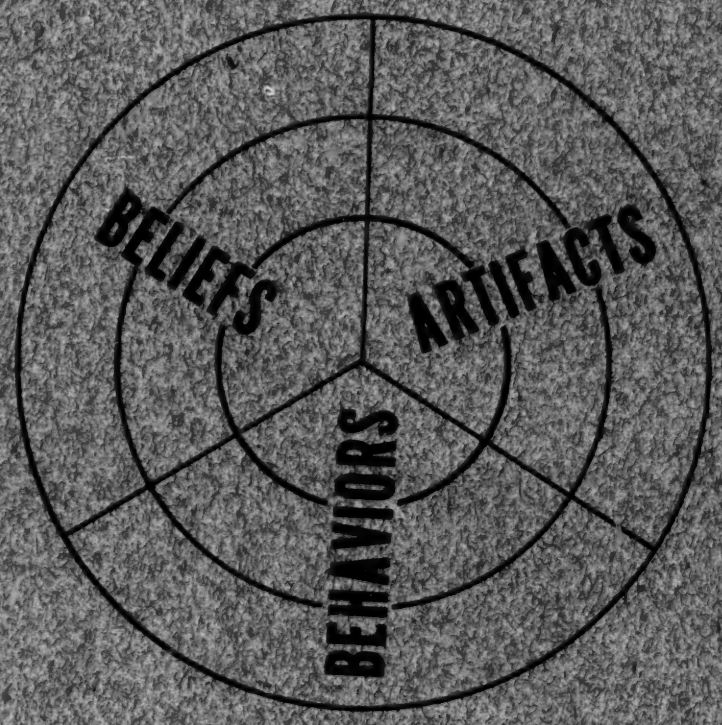
This conference is designed, as I said, to establish a dialogue between those of you actually in the field and ourselves so we will know what needs to be done.

Acculturation Problems of the Mexican-American

Dr. Horacio Ulibarri, Assistant Professor,
Educational Administration,
University of New Mexico

Without attempting to define the concept of culture, I would like to establish a frame of reference for directing my remarks. Within this frame of reference we will consider culture as being a three-dimensional entity composed of inter-relating factors of beliefs, behaviors and artifacts. (See Chart I):

CHART I



The concentric circles of Chart I indicate the degrees of emotionalism or the cathetic aspect of a culture. Here again we may use any dimension we like in describing the affective domain of a culture -- for example, Bloom's Taxomomy of the Affective Domain. Suffice to say that the cathetic factor of a culture exists in a continuum from relatively superficial emotional commitment to very intensive and deep emotionalism regarding the values of a culture.

Using Parsons as point of departure, we then have as an explanation of human behavior the tri-cultural theory that he expounds, namely, the culture system, the social system and the personal system. (See Chart II). The first aspect of the Parsonian theory of action to consider would be the status set. The status set is a series of statuses or positions an individual occupies in his life space. For example, an individual may be a superintendent, a head of a family and/or a member of Rotary Club, and also may occupy several other positions. Within each one of these statuses we have what is called a role set. A role is the function an individual has to perform within each given position he occupies. For example, as head of a family, the father not only is supposed to provide for the sustinence of the family, but also must be the individual most directly concerned with the discipline of the children. He also must be the "playmate," etc. What one has to consider in the theory of status and role sets is that each individual has one principal status with which he is identified. All the other statuses become secondary and subordinate to the principal status occupied. The same thing holds true for the roles the individual has to play in each of the statuses. The manner in which he defines and plays the role in any one of the statuses always is done by giving major consideration to how his playing this or that role is going to affect his playing of roles in the major status. For example, as superintendent, one may wind up in one's relations to his family by having the children removed from a school system in which one is superintendent because he knows the children are going to get differential treatment.

Each individual, then, lives within a culture and within a society, both complementary to the other. The two converge on the individual to develop in him a given personality with definite needs and aspirations. (See Chart III). Outside of some of the basic needs of an individual, the other needs he must satisfy for himself are shaped and directed both by a society, that is,

CHART II

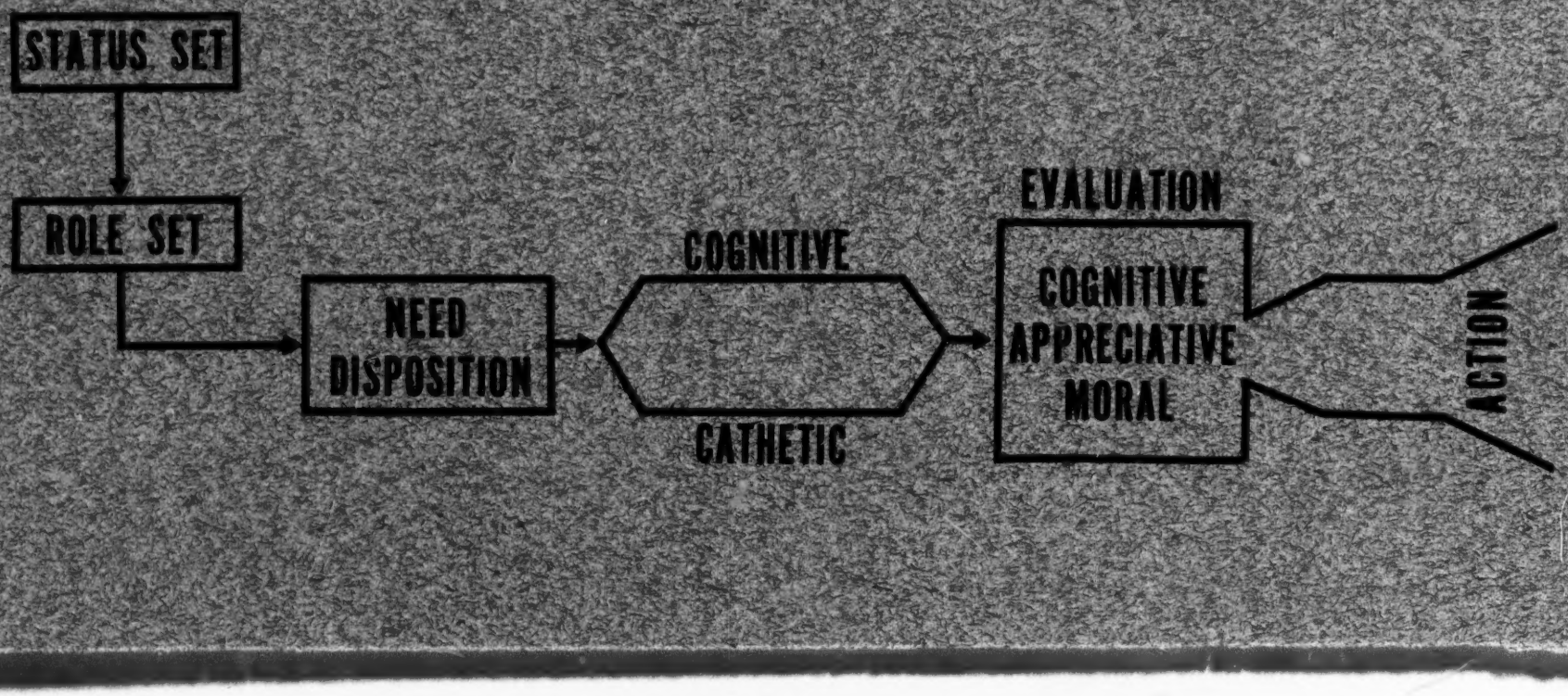
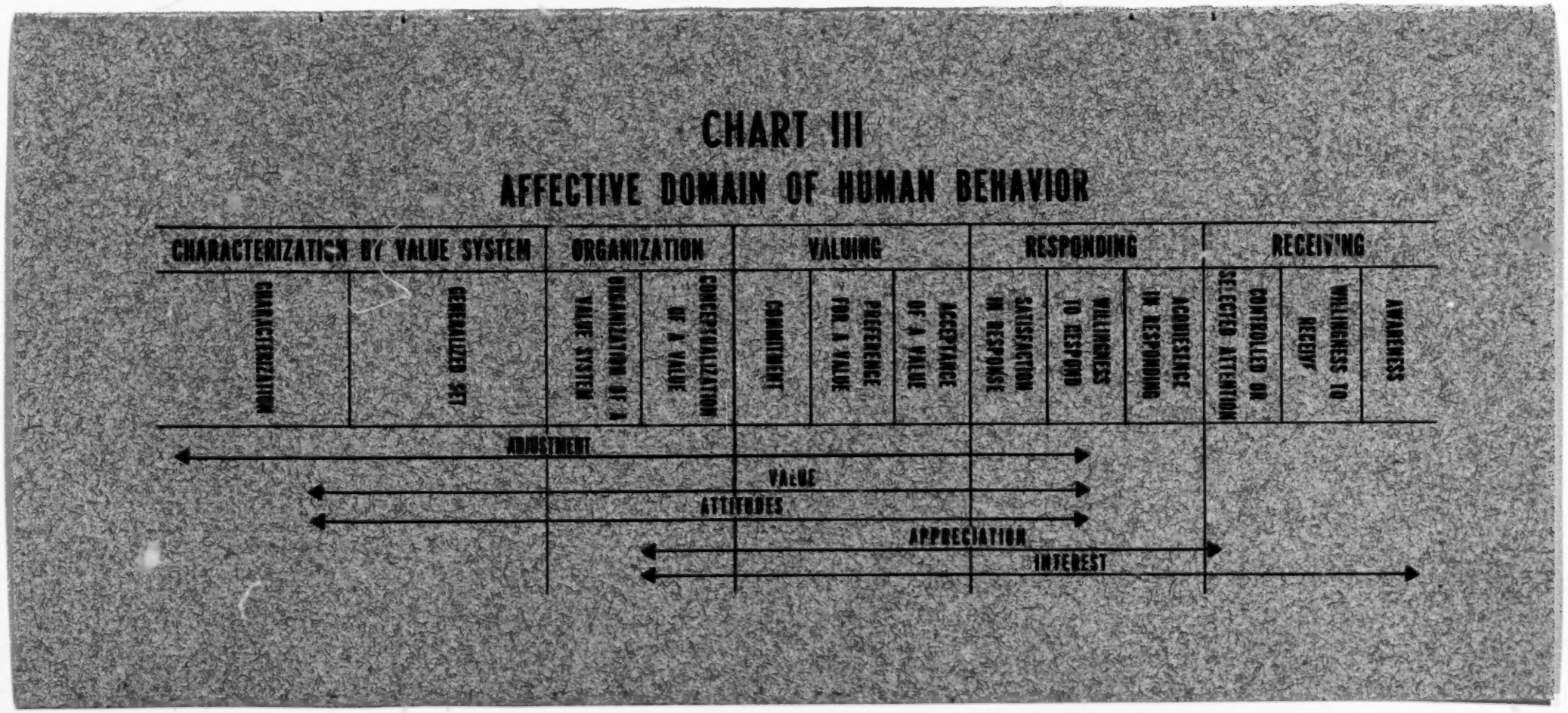
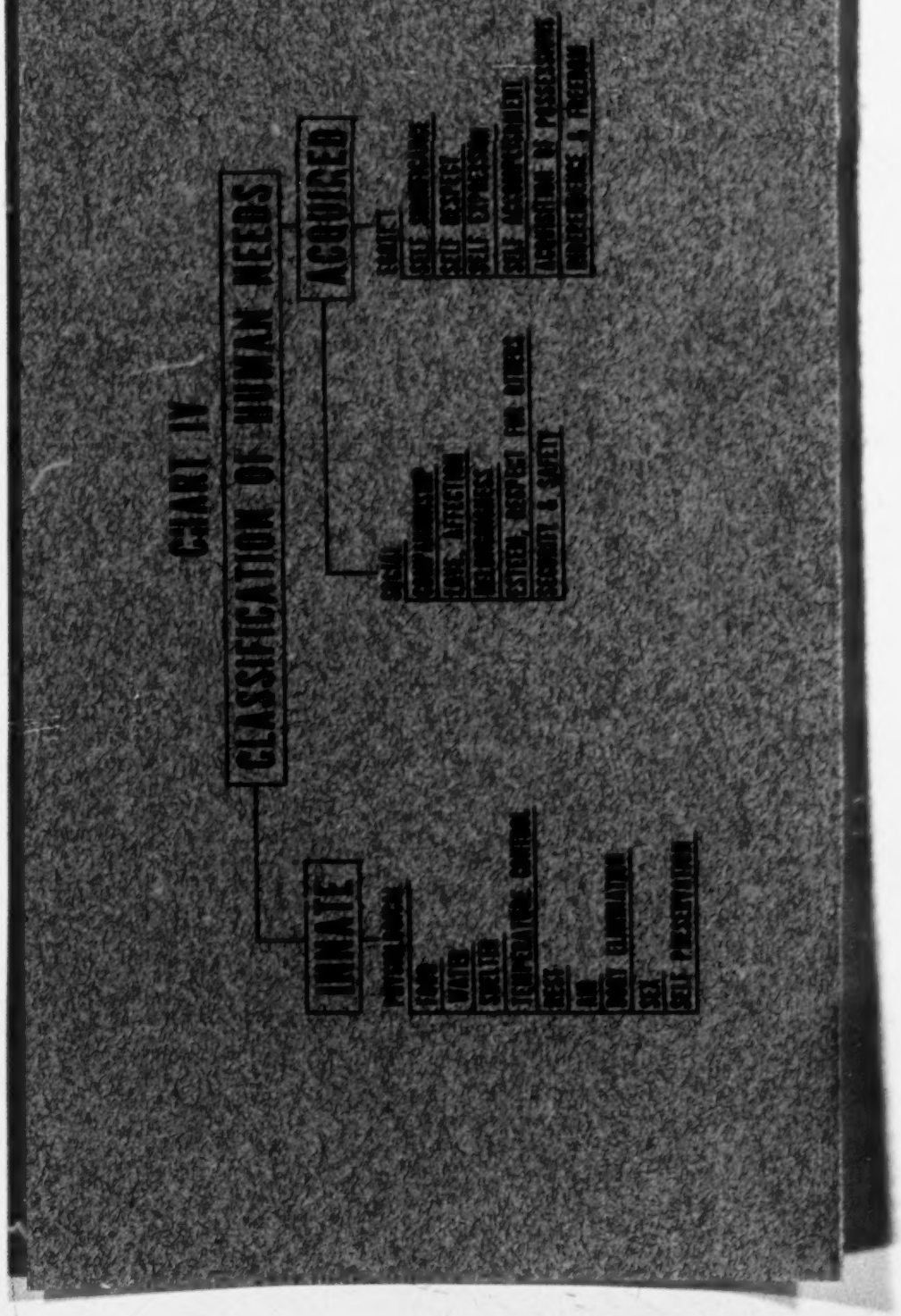

STATUS SET
ROLE SET
NEED DISPOSITION
COGNITIVE
CATHETIC
EVALUATION
COGNITIVE
APPRECIATIVE
MORAL
ACTION

CHART III

AFFECTIVE DOMAIN OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR



the social system, and the culture system operating on him at all times. If we use Maslow's classification of human needs, we see that outside of some very few basic needs, the individual's behavior is modified in the satisfaction of these needs by the society and by the culture in which he functions. (See Chart IV).



Again we see that even in the satisfaction of the basic needs — such as food and shelter — the individual operates within the confines of his society and culture. That is, he will satisfy his basic needs of food and shelter according to the historical ways through which his society has learned to satisfy them.

Now permit me to introduce the problem of culture conflict. When an individual is asked or is required to perform certain roles within given statuses, he has been taught and has become emotionally committed to occupying that status and to the playing of those roles according to certain norms. In that situation, he experiences no difficulty whatsoever. He knows what society wants of him and he knows within what cultural norms he must perform. However, when there is an incompatibility between the social system in which the individual has been socialized and the social system, together with its cultural system in which the individual is asked to perform certain roles, the individual experiences culture conflict. First, he may not know exactly how to play given roles in the new status he occupies. For that matter, he may not fully comprehend the total boundary limits of the new status he is occupying. The individual at this point will tend to define his new status or roles according to the cultural norms in which he was raised.

Similarly, when there is disharmony between the cultural norms in which the individual was socialized and the cultural norms in which the individual is asked to perform certain roles and occupy certain statuses he experiences conflict. This is so even though the individual may have been able to define the limits of the status and the roles he has to play. His tendency to play them according to the rules he knows is very great, and therefore, there arises a very definite culture conflict. Take for example the Mexican-American born and raised in Mexico. The statuses and the role sets he learned and became emotionally committed to were vastly different from those he has to occupy and play in the United States. Another example is the typical WASP administrator. He knows the statuses he occupies in the bureaucracy of AID, and the roles he has to play. But he doesn't know the norms, the morality of the situation in interacting with Latin Americans. The activities and functions he directs toward that society are going to be within the limits of the typical WASP personality. But his interactions are going to be with people totally different than the WASP personality, and the

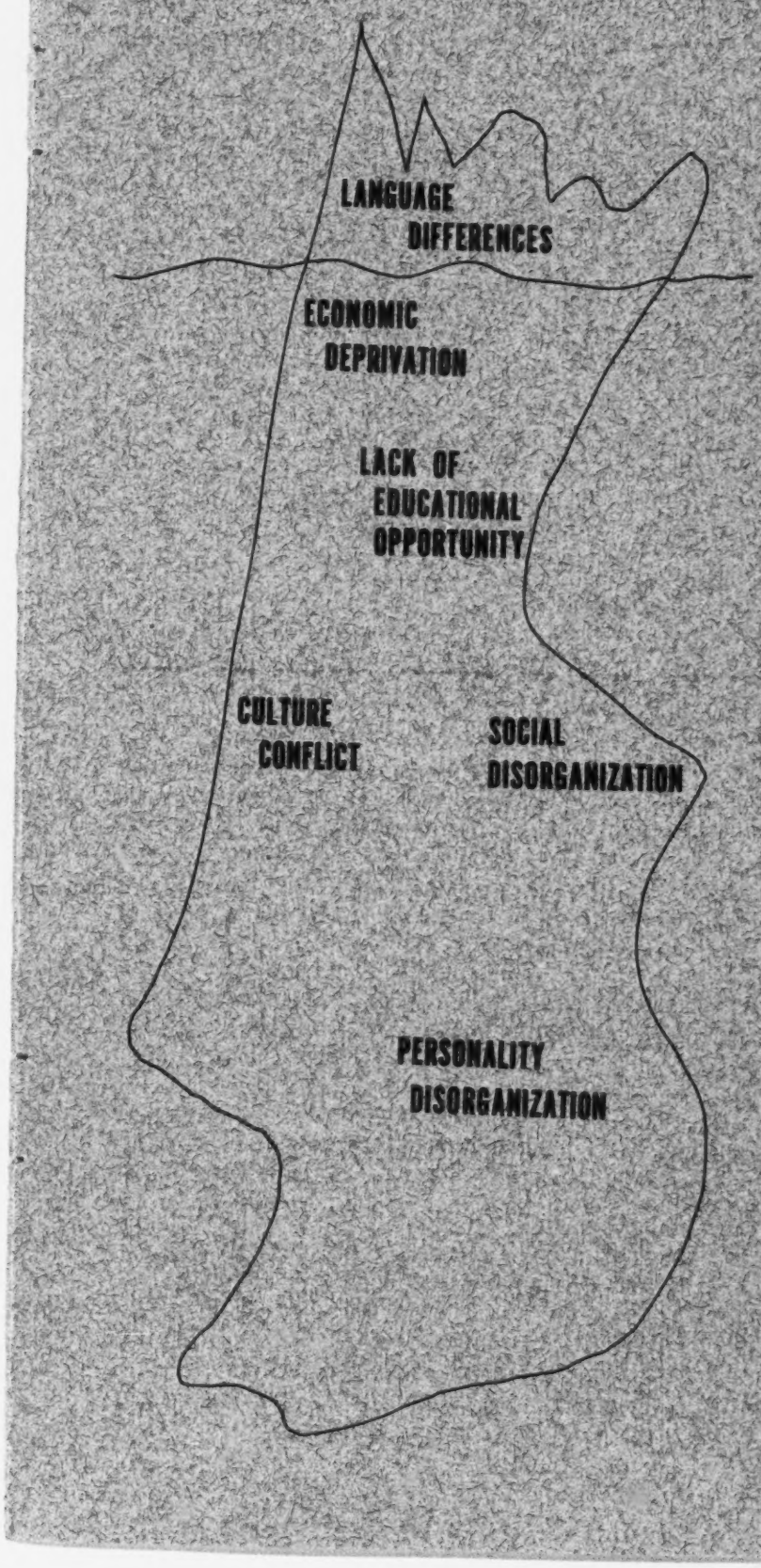
feedback through both the oral and silent language is going to be signals that he may not know exactly how to read. Thus he cannot reshape the playing of his roles and redefining the limits of his status set. Here, for the first time, we may find the WASP whose orientation is that he is master of his own destiny and master of the universe developing an inferiority complex because he doesn't know how to redirect his relationships with this type of people.

Another point to be made concerning culture conflict is that language is not the only factor affecting the individual's relationship with those of other cultural and social backgrounds. For a long time we thought that the language problem was the sum total of the conflict the individual experienced in having to function in a culture and a society other than the one in which he was socialized. We thought, for example, that the Mexican-American was a child with a different language. We thought that if we solved the language problem we would solve everything. A great amount of work has been done in New Mexico under the leadership of Lloyd Tireman. We had Herschel Manual at the University of Texas. Several others worked in the general area of bilingualism. With the coming of the linguistic approach to the teaching of languages, we have found a solution to the teaching of a language swiftly and effectively. But, lo and behold, we have found that even with the reduction in time in teaching language to an individual of another culture and another social background, the problem of culture conflict has not been solved. This accentuates the position that many of us have taken that bilingualism really is a symbol. Bilingualism is the top one-eighth of an iceberg and we have many, many other problems that beset an individual from another social system and another cultural background. (See Chart V).

Perhaps the problem of culture conflict and the problem of social conflict are at the root of many of the problems encountered by the individual during acculturation. I would like to define acculturation as a process by which the individual moves in his behavior from one socio-cultural setting to another. There are several accompanying phenomena which affect the personality of an individual involved in acculturation. There is diffusion, for example, or the aspect of cultural change which includes the transmission of techniques, attitudes and concepts from one cultural group to another.

CHART V

PROBLEMS FACING MINORITY GROUPS



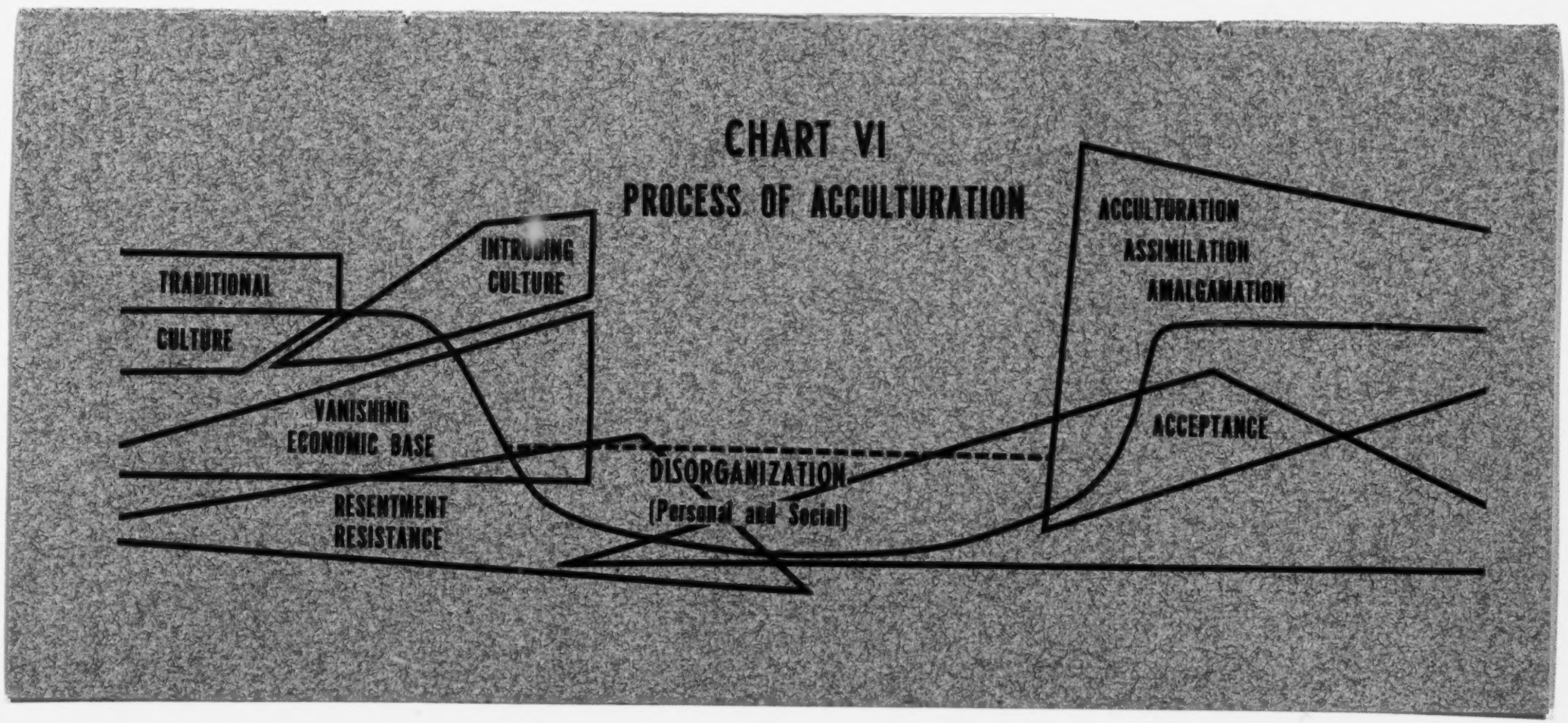
This can be a two-way process. However, the dominent culture usually undergoes less change with more selectivity than the minority group. Another factor in acculturation is assimilation, or the proce.s by which a culture achieves synthesis. In other words, when a value system has been assimilated, it becomes a functional part of the belief system, and is taught through the culture's own process enforced by the mechanism of internal social control. Another very important aspect of acculturation is acceptance; accepta:ce by the members of the minori:y group of the values and practices and behavior patterns of the new culture with which the group has come into contact, and conversely, the losing of the old belief systems together with the totality of its functions. Adaptation, another very important factor, is the condition where original and foreign cultural traits are combined to produce a smooth culturally functionable whole. It is achieved with modification of the patterns of the two cultures. There may be a retention of a series of conflicting attitudes and values which are reconciled in everyday life as specific occasions arise.

In short, the problem of acculturation of the Mexican-American basically arise because of the dysfunctions between the social system in which the individual is forced to operate and the value system to which the individual is emotionally committed. The disparity between the demands of the Anglo society and the basic values to which the traditional Mexican-American adheres creates schizophrenic conditions in which the Mexican-American must function. Moreover, the schizophrenic conditions are a continuing factor in the life of the Mexican-American. The Anglo society keeps demanding that the Mexican-American play his roles according to Anglo norms. This the Mexican-American can do if he knows the roles and the norms while he is operating within the Anglo socio-cultural setting. But when he moves into the Mexican-American socio-cultural context, the rules of the game change. Now the norms of the Mexican-American socio-cultural system are in operation. This schizophrenic situation gives rise to the personality dislocation, namely to confusion and often to complete disorientation of values. Alcoholism, vandalism, drug addiction, prostitution and several other types of baser behavior are exemplified by these marginal people. (See Chart VI).

Acculturation can be viewed as a continuum. At one extreme one finds the individual in a

CHART VI

PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION



state of confustion and possibly in a state of cultural shock. In the second stage the individual is striving to be more Anglo than the Anglo. In the third stage the individual engages in a pseudo-cultural regression trying to be, in the case of the Mexican-American, more Mexican than his Mexican forefathers. At the fourth stage the individual develops an objective perspective of the intrinsic values of the cultures in which he is operating, and develops an inner direction for himself, basically knowing to which values he is emotionally committed and knowing what value system from what culture is in operation at a given moment when he is playing a given role.

Acculturation actually can be thought of as being the broad spectrum of a broad syndrome which has several integral anomalies. I would like to direct your attention to two of them. One is the culture of poverty, the other is the problem of alienation.

There are several reasons for the culture of poverty to rise to the surface or to engulf the personality of the individual. One basically is the financial situation in which the individual tends to find himself. The individual, going back to Maslow's chart, is forever beset with the problem of survival. Survival can be viewed as a continuum from basic physical survival to psychological-spiritual survival. The economics of the situation dictate the level at which the individual is achieving his physical survival. There seems to be a demarcation line, invisible but nonetheless present, at which the individual satisfactorily achieves physical survival. The further up from this line the individual moves, the more directed and more positive his value orientations become. The further down the individual succumbs to poverty from this line, the more negative and the less well-directed the value orientation of the individual tend to be. However, we must immediately assert that some of the traits and characteristics of the people who have become victims of the culture of poverty not only have to do with levels of economic and social income, but also with certain personality and social characteristics.

The members of the culture of poverty have been described as having very little money, virtually no savings and economic security. These factors conspire to obligate the individual to buying in small amounts, buying low quality merchandise and becoming victims of usurious installment or credit purchase plans; all of which means that the cost of being poor

financially is very expensive. At the same time it has been found that members of this group have a much lower life expectancy, lower levels of physical and mental health and lower levels of general physical stamina than non-members. The very familiar characteristics are low levels of educational achievement, inadequate skills, lack of intellectual stimulation and a lack of motivation concerning education. Their expectations concerning education for their children often are unrealistic and imaginary. Less obvious, but nevertheless there, are certain psychological characteristics. Hagstrom lists the following: the poor tend to have a keen sense of the personal and the concrete, the poor plan very little and only on a short term basis, much hostility and egoism is directed toward those who prosper.

At this point I would like to consider some of the factors of alienation as they conspire to obstruct the progress in education of the Mexican-American. The source of an ambivalent motivational structure in the personality system of an actor can be traced to a disparity between internalized and institutionalized value orientations and role perceptions. Ambivalent motivation involves alienation either from the actors in the system or from the system's normative culture. This social alienation is a pyschological characteristic of an actor's entire personality system and is characterized by a need which motivates him to detach himself from the system. Although social alienation is a psychological phenomena, the causes of this state of the personality system must be sought in anyone or in a combination of personality and situational characteristics.

A confrontation of situational and personality attributes which are incompatible predisposes the actor to alienate himself from the situation, or more precisely, for him to become alienated from the social system of which he is a part. But even where there appears to be no marked disparity between personal values and system norms an inability on the part of the actor to record some progress toward valued goals will lead to an ambivalent orientation to the system.

The internalization and institutionalization of cultural value orientations in the personality and social systems provide for the articulation of individual goals into a pattern of shared, collective goals. The process of socialization is an attempt on the part of the present members of a collectivity to ensure some degree of integration between goals of the collectivity

and the orientation systems of future members. It is because of this articulation of the two that social forms exhibit the qualities of integration, adaptation and stability.

This articulation of the two systems of action through the medium of the cultural system never can be complete. Consequently, there occurs in any network of social exchange some inherent strains both in the need disposition systems of the actors involved, and in the system of role-expectations by which their actions are governed and judged.

There are three general sources of inarticulation of the two systems. The first source inheres in the fact that the constitutional composition of human organisms differs from individual to individual. Genetic differences contribute to some variability in need disposition systems, even if it is assumed that the same value orientations have been internalized by each individual with equal intensity. This variation is further augmented as the individual develops a conception of himself as an object. Each individual's self perception is difference; hence no two individuals would be oriented to the same cognitive field.

The second source of inarticulation of the two systems is the incomplete assimilation of all cultural values into any given social system in which individual socialization takes place. Given a common cultural base, all of the elements of a system of culture cannot be institutionalized in the same combination of cognitive, cathectic and evaluative symbols. Having internalized the elements of a particular subculture, an individual's conception of, and orientation toward social situations which he later encounters will be conditioned by the value and orientations which characterize the particular culture in which he was socialized. When an actor moves to a new social situation whose institutionalized normative culture has derived from a cultural pattern similar to that in which he was socialized, the expectations of others and the perception which the actor has of his role, tend to be very similar.

On the other hand, if the normative culture of a social system into which an actor moves has been derived from a cultural system whose elements vary considerably from the cultural elements he has internalized, the probability of a discrepancy arising from his perception of his role, and the expectations of others who have been in the system for some time and have accepted its normative culture as bind-

ing, is increased. In this case, the symbols once meaningful to him either are absent or have been assigned different meanings. Confronted with a normative pattern at variance with his own internalized values, he will initially, at least, become alienated from that system.

Given these biologically and culturally induced sources of disjunction, the third source of inarticulation appears inevitable, namely, the confrontation of actors in a relational context who have internalized different value orientations and whose expectations of each other are disparate. Where need disposition and role expectations are not articulated, ego's perception of what constitutes appropriate behavior in a situation will not coincide with alter's expectations, consequently, when ego acts, he does not perform his role as expected. He incurs negative sanctions from alter's response, and he fails to obtain the gratification he seeks. This presents ego with a problem of adjustment necessitating either a restructuring of his system of orientation or of the system in which he is an actor. This can be done in one of the following ways:

1. Ego may restructure his system of need dispositions repressing those need dispositions which are not gratified in that particular social relational context.
2. Ego may terminate the relationship and transfer his cathexis to a new object which shares the same value orientation pattern, and therefore, promises to be of greater gratificatory significance.
3. Ego may change his own need disposition system displacing previously internalized value orientations with a system of value orientations which coincide with that of alter.

Any one of these alternatives, if chosen by ego, will result in a degree of reintegration of the need dispositions of his personality system. However, where ego's system of orientation does not change, and where he cannot, or does not choose to transfer his cathexis to another object, the role-relationship will continue to frustrate his attempts to obtain gratification. Consequently, ego will develop an ambivalent motivational structure characterized by two antithecal need dispositions. On one hand, it is a conformity need disposition which motivates ego to accept the norms of the situation and behave as alter expects him to, regardless of the prescriptions of his own values. On the other, he develops an alienative need disposi-

tion which impels ego to reject the expectations of alter and to behave according to the directives of his own value orientation system.

Model for a Bilingual-Bicultural Program

Communication Skills in English & Spanish	Communication Skills in English & Spanish	Communications skills in both languages
		Bicultural Core (Humanities) To be taught in either language
Subject Matter taught in either English or Spanish	Subject Matter taught in either English or Spanish	Subject Matter Areas taught in either English or Spanish depending on materials available and development of area in that language

SUMMER 1969

NDEA Bilingual Institute at U-M. Participant will be the entire teaching staff (K-12), including administrative personnel in charge of curriculum of a small school grades K-12.

SCHOOL YEAR 1969-1970

Continuation of teacher training.
Acquisition and development of bilingual materials – to be done by project staff working together with school staff.
Beginning of implementation on trial basis bilingual program in selected areas.

SCHOOL YEAR 1970-1971

Implementation of total program on trial basis. Continuous evaluation and modification of program.

SCHOOL YEAR 1971-1972

On-going program
Possibility of using it as a model for other programs.

Unemployability and Trainability of the Migrant

Alex P. Mercure,
New Mexico Program Director,
Home Education Livelihood Program

I will not be discussing the problems of discrimination because the problem of the migrant has additional dimensions; (1) The majority are Mexican Americans, or a Mexican native, or an Indian. (2) The average amount of schooling is four and one-half years and the average age is 40. (3) They lack educational skills and (4) They have different but strong cultures. They are not culturally deprived.

How can adult education lead to economic improvement? Farm migrants are rurally based and this leads to rural development. What are the variables that contribute to trainability? There are four important variables – potential, motivation, physical capability and economic capability.

I think it is critical that the people should have some part in deciding what they are going to learn. As there is a tendency for farm workers to be concrete oriented, it is important that we pursue basic educational skills within the context of something very concrete and obvious in the needs of the farm workers.

Are we going to establish a traditional classroom oriented class like we have now, or are we going to provide climate where participation is a very critical factor?

We can not expect the farm worker with an income (in New Mexico) of about $1,200 a year and nationally about $1,400-$6,500 to participate in an adult education program unless we provide alternative income. The present system doesn't provide them much of that, but it is still surviving.

These people are highly employable if they get the kind of skills that are available.

The Power Structure: Political Implications for Mexican Americans

Jose Andres Chacon, Director, Research, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs

Two years ago during a conference on the problems of the Mexican American it was reported that this group of people lags behind all other groups in American society, including Negroes, in job opportunities, housing and education. Although conditions appear to be improving slowly, the deprivation is still so great that it may be generations before the gap can be closed. Steve Allen, TV entertainer and author, who chaired the conference, declared that the conditions of the Spanish-speaking citizens in the United States was "America's best-kept secret" and asked "Who are the keepers?" He had his own answer: "I submit that they are not the power elite, as one might suppose, but the victims themselves." He went on to ask: "Has the Mexican American accepted his environment too uncomplainingly? Is it only the Mexican American intellectual who is complaining?" If this is so, what can be done to stimulate the masses to articulate their dissatisfaction?"

In essence, the questions come down to: Who is to blame for the little progress that the Mexican American has made? Who is the enemy? The conference participants attempted various answers. Those quoted here, besides Mr. Allen are: Grace Olivarez, long active in Mexican American affairs; Dionicio Morales, Director of the Mexican American Opportunities Foundation in Los Angeles; Bert Corona, President of the Mexican American Political Association; Armando Rodriguez, then of the California State Department of Education; Arturo Cabrera, assistant professor of elementary education, San Jose State College; Ernesto Galarza, dean of Mexican American leaders; and Bert Acosta, Youth Opportunities Board, Los Angeles.

Olivarez: *What we have not yet defined is: Who is the enemy of the Mexican Americans? A lot of Mexicans don't like to be compared to the Negros, but I must make the comparison: We don't have a white Citizens Council or a Ku Klux Klan to fight; if we did, our task would be easier. Ours is a nebulous enemy. Do we want to say it's the power structure? The Anglo- Americans? The fact is, we don't know whom to identify.*

Morales: *A Negro group recently asked me "Do the Mexican Americans have Uncle Tom's within their leadership?" I'm afraid we do. We have leaders who are camouflaging our problems, and they certainly are our enemies. We know about those "leaders" who think fiestas on city hall steps are a substitute for jobs inside city hall. But the ones we have to look out for are those who go and tell the power structure one thing, and then come back and tell the Mexican American community another in order to maintain their social status and their positions of security as government officials, social butterflies, and so on.*

Corona: *The demands of production have brought on mechanization, automation and cybernation, throwing thousands upon thousands of Mexican Americans out of work, many of them for the rest of their lives. And where do these demands originate? They originate in the Establishment, in the centers of real power and effective decision, from which the Mexican Americans and the Negros and the poor are excluded. So, in identifying the enemy, I would suggest that our exclusion from the Establishment that owns and exploits the wealth of the nation is the enemy; not only has it frozen us out, it has also learned to use us.*

Rodriguez: *I would like to identify another of the enemy. It is education, education at every level: national, state, county and city; and educators in particular: district superintendents and their staffs, principals and teachers. The facts show that they are uninformed and unconcerned about our community, and that they have failed completely in the education of the Mexican American. Often they feel that our children cannot learn or will not learn, and then they give excuses such as our bilingualism or, worse, that we don't have the requisite ability because we are an inferior people. The "barrio" has been a handicap because it segregates us from the opportunity of acquiring an education from the experienc of other people; children in the "barrio" have less chance of getting a higher education and a greater chance of becoming dropouts.*

Cabrera: *But do schools change society, or do they reflect it? In the short run, I think they tend to do the latter so we might be oversimplifying when we call education the enemy. Granted, we need more and better education for the Mexican American community. But is this the fault of the schools?*

If I am right, schools reflect what communities are willing to do or not do for their particular clients. As clients, we Mexican Americans have been indifferent and ignorant; and if we want the schools to change, we had better focus our efforts on doing two things: not only demanding better education for our children but also, and just as important, developing the political strength to get it.

Galarza: *Step by step, in a series of strikes, we engaged the power of the associated farmers of California, the banks and insurance companies, and other big investors in agriculture. We named institutions, persons and places. I think we succeeded; the best evidence that we did is that we were so thoroughly destroyed. To the degree that we defined the enemy, the enemy grew in strength and in its determination to destroy us, and it did. Even the agencies of government, federal, state and local, conspired against us. And so I want to warn every Mexican American who thinks of himself as a leader: In these democratic United States, if you organize to go after specific targets in the power structure, you are asking for some rough treatment.*

Acosta: *I accept Dr. Galarza's word of caution about organizing specifically to engage the enemy, but I think it has to be done. We have to take the risk. Other minority groups have taken it and apparently they have absorbed the consequences quite well.*

These remarks have influenced my statement here today. When Dr. Al Valencia called me and asked me to speak on "Citizen Participation", I thought about the references to the "establishment", to "power" to "organizing to engage the enemy" etc. I concluded that in order for Citizen Participation to be effective it is first necessary to understand how decisions are made both at the national and local levels. Whether we are trying to influence a local school board to implement a bilingual education program or the Congress of the United States to appropriate the monies necessary to implement such a program, the understanding of the decision-making process in the area of public affairs must precede Citizen Participation. It is with this in mind, then, that I have narrowed my topic to *The Power Structure, Political Implications for Mexican Americans.*

Power structure is a socio-political phenomenon that has been defined in innumerable ways. For my purpose, I will be talking about

it essentially as the ability to make decisions and to have them carried out. There are a great many theories about who has the power in America. I get a different theory almost every day. Some people tell me that the Communist Party runs America. Others tell me that a small group of international bankers run America from Wall Street. Still others say that the Jews run America. And there are some who insist that the Pope runs America. The KKK believes all of these at the same time. These are the notions of fanatics with their conspiracy theories of small groups of sinister men making the crucial decisions and pulling the strings which are attached to all of us. However, when you move away from the fanatics you find that the people who are thoughtful and who have studied these questions very closely can't agree on the answer either.

First, there are some who tell us that power is, although not in the hands of a small, sinister and conspiratorial clique, nonetheless pretty well concentrated in the hands of relatively few individuals. C. Wright Mills, in his theory of "the power elite", for example, argues that power is in the hands of a loosely interlocking directorate of three groups: first, the top corporate directors, the leaders of the big corporations; second, the top political leaders – not the professional politicians but rather big business people who from time to time take leave of their business posts and take the key jobs in government; third, the "war lords", the military leaders, the Pentagon. And he says that these three groups work together as a power elite. They constitute a relatively small number of men who understand one another, who speak the same language and who are concerned primarily with the consolidation of their own power. This is very dangerous, he says, because it is a very conservative group which will lead us, unless checked, inevitably towards the halocaust of World War III.

Second, there are writers like Richard Rovere, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Theodore White who talk about "the Establishment". The Establishment essentially is an in-group which determines the direction of public policy and provides a reservoir of top governmental leadership. To some extent it overlaps with Mills' power elite, but it excludes some of Mills' people and includes others. The Establishment's strongholds in the Federal government are in the White House and

the Supreme Court. It is well represented among the financiers and corporate lawyers of Wall Street. And it is entrenched in the institutions from which the dominant ideas of the country flow. Thus, Establishment men run the Ivy League colleges and Eastern universities, the great foundations, some of the major newspapers and periodicals and the television networks. Thus we have a combination of government power, financial power and the power of ideas. To Rovere, Schlesinger and White the views of the Establishment essentially are middle-of-the-road, or perhaps moderately conservative. However, conservative Republicans like William F. Buckley speak of it as "the Liberal Establishment", which overrides the underlying conservative sentiment of the people at large.

In contrast to these views of concentrated power, there are alternative arguments that there isn't any power group in America, that power is widely diffused in this country. David Riesman, for example, in *The Lonely Crowd*, says that there used to be a power group, that business was the essential controlling group in this country at the turn of the century, but this is no longer the case. Today we have an enormous number of groups and organizations of all kinds, and they constantly are in conflict with one another. Thus there is tremendous jostling for power, and there are so many of these groups that no one of them dominates the rest. They get in one another's way. They have the power to stop other groups from doing anything, but they have very little power to get anything done themselves, so we really have "veto groups" rather than power groups. And if you ask who makes the decisions in America, Riesman says most of the time nobody makes the decisions. Most of the time things move along slowly under their own momentum.

Then there is Galbraith's doctrine of countervailing powers, which suggests that as soon as one power center becomes too big, it creates by its own momentum equal and opposing power groups which tends to counterbalance or countervail it. A number of political scientists have suggested the same kind of notion — that we have a pluralistic system, with many centers of diffused power, so that no one group or combination of groups can take over and run the country.

These rival theories of power at the national level have their counterparts at the local level. In the local community, too, according to C.

Wright Mills, there is a small, dominant group consisting primarily of big businessmen. Mills talks about the upper social class in the metropolitan areas, whose members were born into Social Register families. They make up the business, financial and legal aristocracy of their cities. These are the people, says Mills, who really run our local communities. Floyd Hunter, in his studies of Atlanta, arrives at a conclusion which is not far removed from from Mills' analysis. It is important to note that Mills and Hunter are not saying that our cities are in the hands of political bosses. Power in American communities, according to them, is essentially economic power. It is essentially business power; political power is secondary to these concentrations of economic power.

Against these concepts, too, there are theories of diffused power in our local communities. Political scientists like Robert Dahl, in his study of New Haven, argue that, in fact, there isn't any one power group, but that you have to look at each issue and ask who makes the decisions on that particular issue. In most of our cities, says Dahl, no one group makes decisions on more than one or two issues. And even when you look at each particular issue, you usually find a whole array of groups competing with one another and vying for power. Banfield and Wilson in their study of Chicago come up with a rather similar theory. They say that business groups potentially may well have the power to dominate our cities, but potentially power is not the same as actual power. Most of the time they don't take the trouble to use the power which is in their hands. And as long as they don't use it, they don't really have it. Thus power remains diffused.

These men are saying that power in our communities is widely diffused among a number of competing groups. To the extent that there is economic power and to the extent that economic power is concentrated it tends to be offset by political power and political machines.

I would say that, in recent years the pluralists, the people who believe that power is not concentrated in the hands of a few, have been coming into fashion. The pluralists tend to have a more receptive audience — most of us want to believe them. We are afraid of power in America; the very word makes us uncomfortable. We have set up in our Constitution means of controlling and limiting power, and we believe that power has to be widely dif-

fused. Nevertheless, before we move too readily towards a pluralistic analysis, or even the desirability of a pluralistic system, let us take note of two crucial points.

First, if power is in fact widely diffused in our communities, this can mean that nothing will get done. At least, if there is a power group it may exercise its power, but if power is dispersed, decision making may not exist because no one group may be strong enough to accomplish anything. We have downtown business interests, certainly, but they are not necessarily united on all of the issues, and they frequently are challenged by suburban power increasingly so as the city spreads farther and farther out. So it can be argued that the crucial decisions are not made except accidentally by private individuals. Nobody sits down and says, "This is what is for the good of the city as a whole." So the good of the city as a whole tends to be neglected.

Thus, the great political issues that dominate the political life of our cities is "shall the paper be separated from the rest of the trash in the garbage collection?" This is what dominates our political life. This is what taxes the energy of our political leaders. I don't want to suggest that issues of this kind are too trivial to be worthy of consideration.

Still, while that argument goes on, the more serious problems of our cities build up — the crises of race relations, transportation, urban sprawl and the rest. Thus, it can well be said that if power is as widely diffused as it is in cities of the western United States, the important decisions are not made at all, and we have the politics of trivialities.

When we begin to look at these pluralistic theories we find that the diffusion of power never is really very extensive. In the first place, we may not be talking about a very large number of groups engaged in the power struggle. In his study *Men At The Top*, a study in community power, Dahl suggests that the conditions for pluralism exist as long as there are four or five major groups and there is enough competition among them to prevent any one from being dominant.

So, essentially what we have is competition between elites. To use an analogy from economics, this may not be monopoly, but it sounds very much like oligopoly with a few major concentrations of power competing with one another. It does provides some degree

of competition, but it's not exactly a wide diffusion of power. It falls somewhat short of the notion of total pluralism and democracy.

Moreover, it always is a small proportion of the population which is active in these groups. These individuals come predominantly from the middle and upper income groups, from business and professional occupations, and generally they are college educated. Very few indeed come from the poor, from the Mexican Americans; very few of these actually are involved in the key community decisions. No matter the theory of power to which you subscribe, no matter how pluralistic the notion, all of them essentially exclude the Mexican American and the poor. They do not have the power in the American system, e'ther nationally or locally. They are not part of the power structure, however broadly you define that structure.

Now, there are some members of the poor and there are some Mexican Americans who have decided that it is not a very satisfactory state of affairs. They want to participate in the power structure. That brings us to the question of strategies.

How do you get into the power structure? Even if it is pluralistic, it still tends to exclude most Mexican Americans and most of the poor. What are the strategies for getting in? Historically we know what the strategies of the Negro Movement have been. For a time the emphasis was on litigation. The power of the courts was useful in its way, but it was slow and scattered in its effect. The second means, increasingly important in the last few years, has been an appeal to conscience, the power of morality. This strategy, implemented through speeches and books, and through passive disobedience, has been extremely effective. But what is now becoming clear is that morality is not enough. Morality in the American political context is an important factor, but its limits are discovered when it comes into conflict with other values and other interests. As soon as other values come into effect — such as the belief in the sanctity of private property — somehow the value of equality in American life seems to mean a good deal less.

Next there have been outbreaks of violence. This has had some results in Harlem, Watts, Washington, Tierra Amarilla and elsewhere. Conditions previously ignored by the major-

ity are now known. But it is evident that those results have been limited, and the power of a minority to threaten a majority ultimately must be limited power when the majority has the police and the army on its side.

Clearly, there will continue to be eruptions of violence as long as the conditions which breed them remain. There also will continue to be demonstrations, appeals to justice and litigation. All of these things are an inevitable part of the American scene. Yet, I believe that we are now moving away from primary reliance on these approaches and techniques into a period in which the emphasis is going to be on the acquisition of economic and political power.

The question of economic power and economic advancement is the major item on the agenda, and I don't have to say anything about it here beyond indicating that without jobs, without income, no man has any power. He is deprived of any control of his destiny. Thus, the acquisition of jobs and income is the first means towards bringing the Mexican American into places of authority and power in the American society. Moreover, the building of economic institutions, banks, savings and loan associations and insurance companies — of business power in the Mexican American community is an essential and urgent task. I propose to focus for the moment on political power.

There are, I suggest, six key words which define the political process:

Organization — *The building of a structure of groups and institutions from which leadership can emerge and through which influence can be exerted.*

Alliances — *Mexican Americans, and other minorities in the American system, and even together, constitute a minority of the population. Moreover they are a minority without very much economic, social or political leverage. In the context of the American political system they cannot achieve their purposes alone. They must reach out and find other groups whose interests, on a variety of particular issues, coincide with theirs, and build broad coalitions.*

Candidates — *Public office provides important vantage points of power. Candidates must represent the interests of the minorities which select them.*

Votes — *Candidate selection can have little meaning without the influence of voting power*

Pressure — *The American governmental and political process, to a greater degree than that of most other countries, provides a great range of points at which pressure must be applied. The art of lobbying must be refined and used to compel responses from the system.*
Compromise — *No group or groups can get everything it wants, or even everything to which it has a right, all at once. Negotiation and bargaining are essential.*

I realize that each of these points, and the last in particular, is likely to arouse skepticism and even derision from minority groups. After all, every one of these techniques has been tried, and in most cases has resulted in the working out of minor deals and adjustments which have not changed the conditions in which minority groups live in any fundamental sense. There is, consequently, a vast impatience with the traditional political approach, and especially with the notion of compromise.

Dr. Martin Luther King once said that Negroes no longer are tolerant of or interested in compromise, that for Negroes today the word "compromise" is profane and pernicious. Stokely Carmichael says the same thing, but more harshly.

And yet, the fact is that your response to a notion like the necessity for negotiation, for compromise, of building alliances, depends on how you feel about your own strength and ultimately your own ability to produce.

If you believe in your own power, if you believe that you ultimately can organize and be effective in political terms, then you're not afraid of alliances. You only are afraid when you believe that entering into an alliance means that the people with whom you ally yourself will dominate you, when alliance means the submergence of your own identity. This, of course, often has been the case in the past. But if you believe that you really can produce, then you're not afraid of alliances, because you are operating from strength. And similarly with negotiation and compromise; if you negotiate from a position of strength, you are not afraid to negotiate. If you compromise from a position of strength, you can avoid having your position hopelessly diluted. Necessarily there will be compromise. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to

win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense. The key, then, is your own strength — whether you really have a solid base from which to operate and from which you can make the compromises without being hopelessly compromised.

From where is that strength to come? Paradoxically enough, it could come from segregation. I persist in believing that segregation is morally wicked and economically and socially pernicious. Nonetheless, it is here for some time to come — and in many of our cities it is growing rather than diminishing. And in political terms this grim reality can be made to serve useful purposes. It can be used as a means of providing the power base, of building organizations, of getting agreement on candidates and of delivering the vote.

This is part of the Black Power concept, and I believe it has considerable validity. However, I suggest two important points which do not seem to me to be contained in much of the current Black Power argument. The first is that I do not see this use of segregation as an end in itself, but rather as a means of breaking into the power structure, and thus as a means ultimately of breaking down the patterns of segregation and division.

The "barrio" does not contain sufficient resources to produce the necessary economic development. The funds needed are very large, and they must come in substantial measure from the Federal government. But Congress will not vote these funds if the only pressures upon it are from the central city "ghettos" and "barrios". A broader base of pressure will be essential, and this can only come by building political coalitions, and by using these coalitions for the process of hard bargaining which produces results in Washington.

Obviously we have an extraordinarily difficult period ahead. Bayard Rustin, when discussing the aftermath of the 1964 election, argues that the situation seemed to be improving and that the backlash was not materializing. If he were writing that article today, I suspect he would not be as optimistic about the usefulness of political methods in changing the relationship of power. I still would argue, however, that we must use the traditional tools of politics, but at a non-traditional pace. The extraordinarily difficult and delicate task ahead is to bring Mexican Americans and Negroes and others into a representative share of power and au-

thority in our communities, and to do this without permanently freezing the patterns of segregation and division. This will be the basic test of the American political system in the years ahead. And obviously, until this is accomplished the effort to alter the patterns of power will dominate our political life.

Equal Educational Opportunities for the Mexican-American

Armando Rodriguez, Director,
Mexican- American Affairs Unit,
U.S. Office of Education

I think I am speaking today for more than seven million Americans because I'm really talking about equal educational opportunity for all bilingual-bicultural citizens in our country. Almost five and one-half million persons with a Mexican culture and a Spanish language are found in the five Southwestern states. With this concentration and with this single cultural background and single language it would seem fairly simple to provide equal educational opportunity for this group. Yet, we all know that really little has been done to meet this educational right.

This past month marks one year of the Mexican-American Affairs Unit . . . an exciting year, and yet a frightening one because I have just now begun to realize the depth of educational deprivation of the Mexican-American.

In April, 1966, just before assuming this position, I said that I saw the necessary elements for mobilizing a productive program for meeting the needs of the Mexican-American. Those elements were leadership, research, financial resources and programs. Those elements still are present, but we haven't been able to put them together in any formula to make the massive attack that is needed. Equal educational opportunity for the Mexican-American is a myth — a fraud. There isn't a single coordinated program in a school system today prepared to deal with the entire Mexican-American.

We demonstrated some 26 programs at our National Conference on Educational Opportunities for the Mexican-American in Austin last April. They were good programs — ranging from pre-school to adult basic education. They represented hard work and serious concern on the part of many people. The conference provided a forum for the dissemination of these programs and others throughout the country. And this is beginning to take place. This conference and its goals represent, I think, another step in the direction of progress and change.

But let me warn that any development of ideas into programs from this conference must be carefully coordinated with the total program in your school for the Mexican-American. What we seem to be continuing to do is to develop a program at this level or at that level without any bridge between programs and often without any bridge into the community as to the program objectives and any relevance to the future of the student. What I am really saying is that equal educational opportunity for the Mexican-American will not come until the program developed for and with him takes into account the bilingual-bicultural assets he possesses. A program designed for one without the other will not succeed. To set up English as a Second Language program in a school where the rest of the curriculum is designed to educate the Anglo or the Negro will not reach the Chicano. This is what I mean when I talk about a total program for the Mexican-American.

Until our schools and our country are prepared to make a national commitment which reaches deeply into the attitudes of the Anglo and the Negro society and says that cultural and language isolation is wrong — then takes that commitment and provides it with financial resources — I see nothing but difficulty ahead. A step was made in the direction of that commitment with the enactment of the Bilingual Education Act earlier this year. Now we are fighting for even token funds to mount this law . . . this moral and legal commitment.

Our country must accept cultural and language integration just as it must accept racial integration. It is this cultural and language integration that will demonstrate to us that our country is committed to an action program that will meet our needs. Now is the time for Juan to proudly say his Pledge of Allegiance to his country in his language. Just as proudly John will be standing beside him respecting and honoring Juan for his language and cultural richness. This more than anything else will take Juan out of the barrio where he can meet his Negro friends just out of the ghetto and together they join their Anglo friends in one society.

The Negro has moved out of the cotton field — even in the textbook. The Chicano is coming out of Tortilla Flats — one way or the other. The textbooks haven't gotten him out yet, but they better hurry — he's not going to wait any longer.

We need the support of the whole community — professional, lay, business and educational — for the action program needed. But support of all or not, the commitment to implement the programs already developed, those to be created, the resources available and the leadership in command positions will be demanded and secured.

This conference is one more stage in the mobilizing of all possible resources. It is a hopeful event because it leads me to believe that additional resources are available and need only direction for implementation.

Adult basic education programs are the most vital segment of this total program for the Mexican-American because equal educational opportunities mean that Juan's parents and his enlarged family must be learning and living his education. Without this component, we are again just "band aiding" our educational ills. Juan's family must be a part of his education and nothing will make this more a reality than to have that family involved in a learning process for themselves and for Juan. In fact, one of the important considerations involved in the administration of the Bilingual Education Act, assuming it is funded, is that the only way some of the money can be used for adult education is that the child of the adult already be enrolled in a bilingual education program. You see, here again the attention to this vital link of the total family with the total educational program is recognition of the cultural characteristics of the Mexican-American. Very frankly, I cannot see equal educational opportunities existing for the Mexican-American unless provisions are in the program for education of the adult.

I want to close with a couple of brief observations. When Arthur Goldberg talked about a pluralistic society in America, he may have been talking for foreign consumption. But the biggest listening audience he had was the more than seven million Spanish-speaking peoples in this country — five million plus of them Mexican-American. We believed him. We want to believe that the rest of the people in America believed him. We know the rest of the world took his words and said, "let's see it happen."

Many steps to move ahead have been taken in the past year. But a lot more still must be done. It may be acceptable in the Eastern section of our country to think monolingual and monocultural but such thinking is not

rational for the Southwest. And I suspect that many people in our larger cities in the East are beginning to doubt the wisdom of maintaining a single language philosophy. And one of the best ways to break down this thinking is to develop adult basic education program with definite attention toward the cultural and linguistic assets and values of the participants. Cultural diversity must be a prime objective of the American school. Adult basic education for the Mexican-American must promote this goal and fulfill its obligation of equal educational opportunity. Indeed, in many places it must take the leadership in the promotion of objectives.

Summary

A remarkable two days of achievement was recorded at the Adult Basic Education Conference sponsored by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Labr ratory under the able leadership and coordination of Dr. Atilano A. Valencia, SWCEL's ABE field supervisor.

The four key presentations by Jose Andres Chacon, Alex P. Mercure, Armando Rodriquez and Dr. Horacio Ulibarri provided the stimuli and tone for the entire conference.

Four principal ABE priority areas where discussed in two small group sessions: television as a media for English as a second language, paper and pencil materials as an instructional means or as a supplement for English instruction by other media, teacher training programs for teachers and teacher aides of Spanish-speaking adults in basic edu cation programs and establishment of an active Adult Basic Education Clearinghouse.

One of the important byproducts of the conference was the naming of an ABE Steering Committee to assist SWCEL on questions concerning adult basic education. The committee is composed of top educators from various agencies and institutions throughout the United States concerned with economic and educational conditions of Spanish-surnamed people. Its contributions to the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory can have far reaching effects.

Committee members are Tomas Atencio of the University of Colorado, Patricia Cabrera of the School of Education, University of Southern California; Richard Gardner of the Texas Education Agency; Dr. Ralph Guzman of the Department of Government, California State College at Los Angles; Clem Hill, Director of the Adult Education Division of the New Mexico Department of Education; Tom McCormick, Proteus Adult Training Center in Urasalia, Calif.; Alex P. Mercure, New Mexico Program Director for the Home Education Livelihood Program; and Dr. Horacio Ulibarri of the College of Education, University of New Mexico. The conference was fruitful in identifying high priority areas for enlightening the undereducated Spanish-speaking people in the United States. It brought to light areas in which SWCEL has been involved, and proposed greater emphasis and thrust into other phases of adult basic educat[illegible] needing special attention.

Participants recognized SWCEL as ideally and advanteously located in a multi-cultural region enabling it to readily function as a system manager and coordinator of ABE projects in consortium with other agencies and institutions.

Additionally, the conference demonstrated that SWCEL has the potential to serve as an active and viable ABE Clearinghouse to gather and disseminate such information concerning adult basic education as pupil characteristics, agencies, consultants and foundations working in the field, research, instructional materials available, teacher training and proposals submitted and funded. The material generated would be compatible with the ERIC Center at New Mexico State for ultimate transfer to that Center.

The Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory has accepted the challenge! Some of the principal features discussed at the conference already have been incorporated in SWCEL's ABE plans for the coming year.

The empathy expressed by conference participants for the needs of the undereducated Spanish-speaking people of the United States, and the spirit and devotion given to the discussion of the problems, has contributed to the momentum SWCEL is experiencing in its efforts to alleviate the conditions of the Spanish-speaking population in the political, social and economic arenas of our nation.

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